

**THE WAY OUT LIES IN SELF-DEPENDENT
REUNIFICATION OF THE NATION**

**BUILDING OF SELF-SUPPORTING
NATIONAL ECONOMY—WAY TO
REUNIFICATION, INDEPENDENCE AND
PROSPERITY OF THE COUNTRY**

**APPEAL TO THE SOUTH KOREAN
PEOPLE**

THE WAY OUT LIES IN SELF-DEPENDENT REUNIFICATION OF THE NATION

On April 11, 1963, Rodong Shinmoon carried an editorial headlined "The Way Out Lies in Self-dependent Reunification of the Nation."

Follows the full text of the editorial:

Today South Korea finds itself in an extreme political confusion and economic catastrophe.

The discontent of the masses with the present ruling system and their burning desire to get out of the unbearable destitution are mounting as the days go by.

Uneasy about the ever sharpening crisis of the colonial rule, the U.S. government circles and the South Korean rulers are clamouring about the "military government," "civilian government," "transitional co-operation," etc., changing their attitude day and night.

As experiences show, however, it is clear that there is nothing for the South Korean people to expect from them.

Today voices distinct from the clamours of the U.S. politicians or the South Korean military rulers and political brokers are ringing out more powerfully and other moves are being made with an increasing momentum in South Korea.

Often appearing in the South Korean press these days are articles deploring that the cause of the present South Korean situation lies in subjugation by outside forces and

reliance upon them and emphatically calling for the self-dependent spirit and sovereignty of the nation.

We support and hail such proposition originating from the apprehension over the destiny of the nation and reflecting the urgent demand of the South Korean reality.

Why has South Korea been plunged into such bankruptcy and ruin as today and why have the South Korean people fallen into such slough of misery as we see today?

The South Korean people are undergoing misfortunes today because South Korea is placed under the control of the U.S. imperialist aggressive forces, because the homogeneous nation, which had been maintaining unitary economic ties, one and the same culture and customs in the same land, is split.

It is due to the occupation of a half of the country by foreign imperialists and the violation of the sovereignty of our nation that our fatherland has not yet been unified and it is undergoing untold national calamities.

The question is to attain complete national sovereignty in South Korea as in North Korea and to realise the reunification of the fatherland by the subjective forces of the North and the South.

This is the only way for surmounting the crisis in South Korea and winning freedom and liberation.

Originally, all nations are equal and they have the sacred right to shape their destinies by themselves.

All nations can secure independence and freedom only when they win complete political self-determination and seize and exercise their own rights.

This is a truth small nations learnt through their protracted, bloody struggles. It is clearly borne out by the history of the independence movements of nations and of the national-liberation struggles.

Achievement of the complete independence of the country—this was what was unanimously desired after liberation by the Korean people who had been subjected to cruel national oppression, exploitation and humiliation by Japanese imperialism. Accordingly, the people of North and South Korea rose up with fury to regain their sover-

eignty and to construct an independent, rich and powerful fatherland.

However, the country has been divided due to the occupation of South Korea by the U.S. imperialists and the one and the same nation of the same blood has traversed two divergent roads for eighteen years now.

The two distinct realities of North and South Korea today clearly show what results are brought by the two different courses, namely self-dependence and submission, and which course leads to national independence and prosperity.

After liberation the Korean people became the master of their destiny in North Korea and opened the road of independent development.

The people in the North established the people's regime at their own will, enforced the land reform and other democratic reforms, their long-cherished desire, and devoted all their energy and wisdom to the construction of a democratic, independent state, wiping out the survivals of Japanese imperialism.

The Soviet Army which marched into North Korea with the mission of liberation helped the Korean people construct an independent state by themselves and lost no time in withdrawing.

The Chinese People's Volunteers which entered the war to assist the Korean people in the just struggle for safeguarding the freedom and independence of their country during the war imposed upon the Korean people by the U.S. imperialist aggressors, also pulled out after the Korean armistice.

The people's regime founded in North Korea safeguards the sovereignty of our nation and consistently carries out measures for the happiness and prosperity of the nation.

The people in the North firmly guarantee the independence of the country and are successfully developing economy and culture because they have the sovereign power in their hands.

In the spirit of self-reliance, we rehabilitated the eco-

nomy destroyed by the Japanese and U.S. imperialist aggressors and laid a firm foundation of self-supporting national economy in the northern part of the country, sparing a penny and mobilising our own resources to the maximum.

We have built a powerful industry and are exploiting rich resources of raw materials of the country, which had been plundered by the foreign aggressors in the past, and are using them for the prosperity of the country and the wellbeing of the people.

Thanks to the self-supporting national economy we have built, we can construct new factories and enterprises by producing necessary machines and equipment by ourselves, develop economy and meet the demand of the people.

Everyone knows that the arable land in North Korea was originally small and lean at that. But we increased agricultural production by building irrigation projects, and supplying machines and electricity to the countryside relying on our own industry and thus we have become self-sufficient in provisions as well.

Our firm self-supporting economy is the solid guarantee for political sovereignty.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, a proud independent state, shapes all its policies independently and maintains political and economic relations with other countries on the principle of complete equality and mutual respect.

We resolutely fight against the schemes of the imperialists to encroach upon our country and subjugate our people—we never allow anyone to violate or profane our national rights and dignity.

The enemies are trying to create the false impression that our Republic is “dependent” on certain other socialist country. By so doing, they are going to justify the occupation of South Korea by the U.S. army.

However, no slander or vilification can cover up the truth.

It is true that we are a member of the socialist camp

and all the socialist countries are marching together with a common idea and a common goal.

But, unlike the mutual relations among the imperialist powers based on the jungle law of the stronger preying upon the weaker, the mutual relations among the socialist countries are based on the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and mutual co-operation.

We do not act on anybody else's instructions or orders, but solve all questions by ourselves on our own decision, proceeding from the national interests of our people and the common interests of the world's people.

We, of course, unite and closely co-operate with our friends for the common goal and draw on what is necessary for us out of their experiences. But we do not adopt what is unfit for our conditions.

The economic relations between our country and the fraternal socialist countries are likewise based on the principle of complete equality and mutual benefit.

We have received economic and technical assistance from fraternal countries and conduct trade with other countries.

But the aid of the socialist countries, unlike the "aid" of the imperialist countries, is aimed at consolidating the independence of the recipient countries and helping them develop a self-supporting national economy. And we developed our national economy more rapidly by making the best use of the aid of the fraternal countries in places where we needed it most, and we are now able to manage our economy by ourselves.

Our foreign trade serves the development of our economy through mutual accommodation by importing what we lack and is necessary for us and exporting what we can spare.

We are not dependent on any country economically, much less do we reconcile ourselves to having the sovereignty of the country encroached upon for economic reasons.

In North Korea which has taken the road of inde-

pendent development in all spheres of politics, economy and culture, all the backwardness and poverty caused by submission to the foreign aggressive forces in the past have already been wiped out without a trace.

A historical change has taken place here and the national prosperity has been brought about.

The people in North Korea are enjoying every freedom and right, and they are quite free from the threat of hard living. They are all engaged in jobs according to their skill and knowledge. Unemployment is something alien to us, rather the shortage of labour is felt.

All people in the North receive free medical treatment when they fall ill and send their children to schools of all levels free of charge.

We cannot say as yet that the people in the North are leading a rich life, but they have no worry about food, clothing and housing, and their living standards are being improved systematically.

We believe that all these are what were aspired after by our forerunners who shouted at the top of their voices "Long live the independence of Korea!" laying down their lives in foreign lands, in prisons and at the gallows of the Japanese imperialists.

Then how is the situation in South Korea?

The U.S. army which landed in South Korea following the surrender of Japanese imperialism lorded it over South Korea from the first day as a conqueror, trampling upon the sovereignty of the Korean people and seizing all power in its hands.

Immediately after their landing, they forcibly dissolved the people's committees founded by the Korean people themselves, proclaimed military administration all over South Korea and pursued the policy of colonial subjugation.

They unleashed the criminal aggressive war to occupy the whole of Korea and obliterate the independence of the Korean nation, and following the war, they have been continuously tyrannizing over South Korea as her supreme ruler.

In the past eighteen years the signboard of the colonial regime has been replaced several times in South Korea, but the ruling machinery has remained unchanged, being only the extension or a variant of the U.S. military government.

The sacred right of our nation to self-dependence and self-determination has been trampled underfoot in South Korea by the U.S. aggressors, and South Korea has been reduced to a colony of the United States.

The rulers and propaganda machines of the United States have been trying hard to describe South Korea as an independent "sovereign state."

But what sovereignty can one talk about when aggressive foreign troops are playing the master, occupying the territory?

If it is a sovereign country, power must be in the hands of its nation.

The so-called "government of the Republic of Korea" in South Korea was not established, in the first place, by the Korean people—it was trumped up and forced upon them at the point of the bayonet of the U.S. army under the U.N. signboard.

It is nothing but a political camouflage of the U.S. aggressors.

It is a major characteristic of the aggressive policy of the U.S. imperialists with long "experience" in colonial policy to rig up a "regime" with their puppets in a small colonial country and justify their aggression through it. The situation of South Korea is no exception. On the contrary, this policy is being enforced in a most undisguised form.

It has long been exposed that the "Syngman Rhee government" put up by the Americans as a showcase of "representative government" and all the successive "governments" of South Korea were rigged up by U.S. imperialism at the point of the bayonet of the U.S. army.

It is an open secret that the U.S. imperialists also cooked up the present military "regime" of South Korea by instigating the Pak Jung Hi-Kim Jong Pil gang,

pet agents of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, in an attempt to tide over the crisis of their colonial rule.

It is universally known that the South Korean "government" is a marionette which cannot exist even a day without the patronage of the U.S. army and cannot do anything without the instruction of the United States.

A sovereign state should, at least, enjoy equality in its relations with foreign countries and settle its questions independently.

But, the South Korean "government" is only handing over the sacred rights of the Korean people and the wealth of Korea to U.S. imperialism according to its demand.

In the first place, the South Korean "government" concluded with the United States the "ROK-U.S. Mutual Defence Treaty" "granting" the United States the right to station its troops for a long period in any place throughout South Korea, the "ROK-U.S. Agreement on the Transfer of Finance and Property" and the "ROK-U.S. Treaty of Friendship, Trade and Navigation" stipulating that the ownership of any property in South Korea, corporeal or incorporeal, which the "United States is interested in" shall be "transferred to the U.S. government at its request" and that South Korea shall compensate for the loss of property of Americans in South Korea.

The U.S. imperialists enjoy extraterritorial privileges and are riding roughshod over South Korea.

According to the so-called "Taejon Agreement," "crimes committed by American soldiers in South Korea can be tried only by the U.S. army authorities" and "demand for compensation for losses inflicted by American soldiers upon the property and lives of the South Korean people can be disposed of by unilateral notification on the part of the U.S. army. Such humiliating order can be found only in a colony or leased territory.

The Americans can kill Koreans at will and take possession of any property of South Korea if they are only "interested in" it, while the South Korean people have no place to present their complaint even when there are losses of lives and property due to the ever-worsening atrocities

of the U.S. army.

How can such disgraceful relations be compatible with sovereignty?

Moreover, the U.S. army holds complete control over the South Korean army. The inflated army of South Korea over 600,000 strong has nothing to do with national defence — it is nothing but a tool of the U.S. imperialists for the suppression of the South Korean people and for aggression.

What semblance of a sovereign state can be found there where sovereignty is trampled underfoot and people demanding independence are killed by foreign aggressors and the prerogative of military command, the most important of all in the exercise of the sovereign power of the state, is held completely by the foreign occupationist army?

If a nation wants to secure complete sovereign power, it must be independent economically.

But, South Korea is completely subjugated by the United States not only politically and militarily but economically as well.

The U.S. imperialists have been pillaging the wealth of South Korea by force of the U.S. army and controlling the main branches of the South Korean economy and all the economic and financial activities of the South Korean “government” through the aggressive “aid.” To begin with, nearly half of the budgetary revenue of the South Korean “government” is made up of “foreign funds” through U.S. “aid” and the South Korean “government,” as is explicitly stipulated in the “ROK-U.S. Economic and Technical Agreement,” must obtain the concurrence of the U.S. “aid” supervisory organ in advance to any temporary diversion of appropriations, to say nothing of the compilation and disbursement of the budget.

Without the U.S. “aid” and without the consent of the U.S. overlords, the South Korean “government” cannot draw up the budget nor can it make disbursement at its own will.

The economic and financial activities of the South Ko-

rean "government" are directed to the plunder of the people, increase of military expenses and reinforcement of military establishments for the aggressive aim of U.S. imperialism.

The foreign trade of South Korea is also controlled completely by the United States and has only ruinous effect upon the economic life of South Korea. This is proved only too clearly by the miserable fact that every year import exceeds export twenty times.

The U.S. imperialists have turned South Korea into a market for their commodities and capital, into a source of raw materials. Using "aid" as a bait, they have placed the South Korean industry completely under their control and destroyed and ruined South Korea's national industry.

They have devastated the South Korean rural villages through the forcible sale of surplus agricultural produce and ruthless plunder.

Nevertheless, at the instigation of U.S. imperialism the military rulers are again openly ushering into South Korea even the Japanese monopoly clique which oppressed and exploited the Korean people for 36 years in the past.

Due to economic submission to the United States the South Korean industry and agriculture are stifled, production has dwindled away and the people's living is in the mire. Because South Korea is subordinated to U.S. imperialism, the powerful national economy in the northern part of the country cannot be used for the rehabilitation of the South Korean economy and for the solution of the question of people's living.

In South Korea the U.S. imperialists have obliterated Korean national culture and introduced the American way of life, with the result that all splendid things of the Korean nation are blighted and stunted.

Using racism as a major ideological weapon in their aggressive policy, the U.S. imperialist aggressors are looking down upon and hurling all kinds of insults at Koreans in South Korea.

Today the South Korean people find themselves in the status of colonial slaves without any right, and are suffering from appalling poverty and famine.

Millions of unemployed and foodless peasants are wandering about the roads, but no measures have been taken except the loud preaching of the criminal birth control and selling of compatriots to foreign lands as life-time slaves under the name of emigration.

No wonder the South Korean publications deplored that today's situation has been brought about by the "U.S. policy toward South Korea" under the pretense of "good will" and by the "dependence on U.S. aid."

It is the very policy of colonial subjugation of U.S. imperialism that has brought the disastrous situation to South Korea today.

The history of the past eighteen years and the two distinct situations in the North and South show that only the road of self-determination and self-dependence of the nation is the road to freedom and independence and that the road of self-dependence and self-reliance is the only way for South Korea to get rid of the present miserable situation.

For South Korea to be self-dependent and self-reliant, the first and foremost task is to drive out from there the U.S. imperialist aggressors, the culprits trampling underfoot the national sovereignty in South Korea and the source of all the misery and hardships of the South Korean people. No independence can be ensured as long as the aggressive foreign troops are allowed to remain in this country.

The longer the U.S. imperialist aggressors remain in South Korea, the graver the ruinous crisis of South Korea will become and the greater hardships the South Korean people will suffer.

The South Korean people must thoroughly expose and smash the deceptive manoeuvres of the U.S. imperialists and the treacherous acts of the puppet clique subservient to them and clear South Korea of the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

As long as the U.S. imperialists stay on in South Korea, nothing will change whether it be under a "military government" or a "civilian government," and the nature

of the South Korean regime as a puppet "government" cannot change no matter who comes to power.

To acquire genuine sovereignty the foreign aggressors and traitors toadying to them must be driven out and the people must rise up and establish a democratic, self-dependent government representing their true will and defending their rights. Only when a popular regime is set up can genuine independence and freedom be ensured and democratic development be expected.

For the establishment of a democratic, self-dependent government the South Korean people must win all democratic rights and especially, the freedom of activities of democratic political party must be ensured.

Corrupt, power-hungry political charlatans cannot do anything for the nation and people. The leader wanted by the popular masses must emerge from among the popular masses. Only then can the South Korean people win victory in their struggle and attain freedom and independence.

There can be no political sovereignty without economic independence.

As experiences show, reliance upon outside force brings ruination only.

The South Korean people must oppose and reject the U.S. imperialist policy of economic subjugation, achieve self-sustenance and self-determination and fight for the realisation of economic intercourse between the North and South to rehabilitate and develop the ruined economy of South Korea.

If South Korea casts off the yoke of aggressive foreign capital, establishes economic ties with North Korea and if the North and South mutually accommodate, the economic bankruptcy of South Korea can be relieved and the question of people's living be fully solved.

South Korea, too, like North Korea, must become self-dependent politically and economically.

Only when South Korea is self-dependent and self-reliant like North Korea, and only on this basis, can the reunification of the country and complete independence be

achieved by the strength of our nation without interference of any outside force.

History knows no precedent of achieving national independence by relying upon the aggressive foreign forces.

The struggle of our forefathers who rose up against the aggression of capitalist powers, calling for the rejection of the Westerners and Japanese, failed to bear fruit owing to the flunkeyists. The bitter memory of the national ruin caused by the traitors who fawned upon foreign aggressors still wrings our hearts.

We also clearly remember that all the attempts of motley politicians to attain "independence" through "petitions" or "entreating" reckoning upon the "good will" of the Western Powers, were only made a mockery of by the imperialist robbers.

What a sober truth the grim historical lessons of the past give us even today!

We must not forget this bitter lesson of history and must unify the country with our own strength without any outside interference.

Why cannot the Korean people settle the question of reunification of their country by themselves? Why should we allow Westerners to interfere in the internal affairs of our nation?

The Korean nation is a resourceful nation with a long history and cultural tradition and a nation with courage and lofty mettle who defended the independence of their country for a long period.

The Korean people can and must unify their country with their own power.

The question of the country's reunification is not a matter to take issue over; it is the supreme task of our nation.

Some people in South Korea oppose the self-dependent reunification of our country, alleging that if it is realised, South Korea will be "devoured" by North Korea. This is nothing but an excuse of those who are hampering reunification.

The question of the reunification of our country is not

a question of conquering or being conquered; it is a question of restoring national reunification by completely freeing our temporarily split nation from the imperialist yoke.

Our Party's proposal for enforcing a Confederation of the North and South as an intermediary step toward the complete reunification of the country proceeded, first of all, from the desire to solve jointly questions which concern the interests of the whole nation, to promote understanding between the North and South and create favourable conditions for the reunification of the country.

We hold that the choice of political system should be left to the will of the people, and the peaceful reunification of the country be achieved through democratic means according to the unanimous will of the North and South Korean people, and we are striving to this end.

The Korean Communists fought shedding their blood only for the independence of the country and for the liberation of the nation in the past when the misfortune of ruin befell our country. They are waging an unflinching struggle still today for this lofty cause. Our sole desire is to drive the U.S. imperialist aggressors out of South Korea, deliver the South Korean brothers from the yoke of their colonial rule and enable the entire nation to live happily in a unified country.

The way for the South Korean people to free themselves from today's wretched predicament lies in fighting to drive out the U.S. imperialists aggressors, win the self-determination and self-dependence of the nation and, on this basis, attain the reunification of the country.

This is not a time merely for lamenting over the reality. Victory requires fight, and fight alone; it can be won only through fight.

The entire people of South Korea must fight more bravely to expel the U.S. imperialist aggressors. Anyone who has national conscience and is concerned about the destiny of the country must come out in this sacred struggle for the restoration of our country that is trampled upon and for the recovery of the national sovereignty which is encroached upon.

All the patriotic forces of South Korea must unite under the banner of the anti-American, national salvation struggle for national self-determination, self-dependence and self-sustenance. Unity multiplies strength ten-fold, a hundred-fold. Unite and oppose and reject all the machinations of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, and vigorously fight so that the aggressors cannot stay on in this land!

The U.S. imperialists and their stooges are floundering to extricate themselves from the predicament and are afraid of the struggle of the masses.

The strength of the united people can topple any bastion of the enemy. This has already been proven through the experience of the South Korean people in their struggle.

The united might of the thirty million people will certainly drive the U.S. imperialist aggressive army out of South Korea and put an end to its colonial rule. Dawn will surely break over the land of South Korea and the day will certainly come when the banner of reunification and independence will wave over this land.

BUILDING OF SELF-SUPPORTING NATIONAL ECONOMY—WAY TO REUNIFICATION, INDEPENDENCE AND PROSPERITY OF THE COUNTRY

On April 23, 1963, Rodong Shinmoon carried an editorial headlined "Building of Self-supporting National Economy—Way to Reunification, Independence and Prosperity of the Country".

Follows the full text of the editorial:

In recent days in South Korea voices are rising ever higher deploring the disastrous effect brought upon it by the U.S. "policy on South Korea" and the U.S. "aid" and demanding that independent development of the country and economic self-dependence should be sought, rejecting reliance upon foreign forces.

This is a just demand arising from the bitter experiences of the life of the South Korean people. Therefore, we wholeheartedly approve of it.

In this connection we have already discussed in another editorial of this paper the question of self-dependent reunification of the nation. Today we are going to discuss the question of self-dependent development of the national economy —the basis for surmounting the economic disaster in South Korea and achieving the genuine independence of the country and the prosperity of the nation.

No matter what nation it may be, it cannot build an independent state without a self-supporting foundation of economy, nor can it achieve the consolidation and development of the country and its prosperity.

Comrade Kim Il Sung said as early as 1947: "In order to build a democratic state the foundation of a self-supporting economy of the nation must be established... Without the foundation of a self-supporting economy we can neither attain independence nor found the state nor subsist."

Economic self-dependence is the basis of political independence. Reliance on foreign forces in economy is followed by reliance on foreign forces in politics, and economic dependence is followed by political dependence.

They say that all nations are equal and sovereign and have the right to shape their destinies by themselves. But how can equal rights and sovereign rights of nations be ensured if they are not economically independent? Those who disapprove the construction of self-supporting national economy are actually disapproving the equality and sovereignty of the nations.

None other than the imperialists are pursuing the policy of economically subjugating other countries and then violating their independence and sovereignty, using the "aid" as a bait for their aggressive purposes. The "European Common Market", "Atlantic Community", "Integration of World Economy", etc., much vaunted by the imperialists today, all pursue the aggressive aim of stamping out the political and economic independence of the small nations inveigled into joining the "communities" and placing them under the control of the imperialist powers.

Nations economically dependent on foreign imperialists cannot be essentially free from political subjugation and plunder by the imperialists, even if they attain nominal, political independence. Only those countries that have self-supporting national economy can establish economic relations with other countries on the principle of complete equality and mutual benefits and can come out in the international arena as full-fledged, independent countries with equal rights with other big and small nations of the world.

Without laying a self-supporting foundation of national economy, one cannot expect the prosperity of the country nor can the livelihood of the people be improved.

Without the means of managing the economy of the country by themselves, how can they build a civilized, rich and powerful, independent country? How can a nation expect to live well, relying on the strength of others, without mobilizing its own resources and strength? We know

as yet no instance of a rich and powerful independent state being built relying on foreign forces. We know no instance of people's welfare being promoted relying on the imperialists' "aid".

In fact, without a self-supporting national economy science, technology and culture cannot be developed; nor can the nation be free from the backward state far removed from the modern, civilized world. Only by building a developed national economy can the nation enjoy all the fruits of modern society and also contribute to the development of culture of mankind as a civilized nation.

Road of reliance on foreign forces, road of reliance on the imperialists' "aid"—this is the road of subordination, the road of ruin. Road of self-dependent development, the road of the construction of self-supporting national economy—this is the only just road of securing the independence of the country and ensuring the flourish and prosperity of the nation.

The most eloquent testimony to this is found in the two diametrically different realities in North and South Korea.

What really are the results brought to South Korea by the "policy towards South Korea" pursued by the United States, the self-styled "well-meant helper"? What has the so-called U.S. "aid" brought to the South Korean people? It is colonial subjugation and plunder, political confusion and economic disaster, unheard-of hardships of living and social corruption.

Thanks to the aggressive policy of the U.S. imperialists and the country-selling policy of the South Korean reactionary forces, the colony of Japanese imperialism of yesterday has become the colony of U.S. imperialism today.

Through "aid" the U.S. imperialists control the entire economic life of South Korea and have reduced the South Korean economy to a U.S. military appendage. Under a series of treacherous agreements the South Korean ruling circles have paved the way for the penetration of U.S. monopoly capital, and transferred to the U.S. government

the right of unrestricted control over the South Korean economy.

To begin with, the South Korean budget, the basis of financial and economic activities of the South Korean "regime," is completely under the control of the U.S. imperialist aggressors. Close to half of the total revenue in the South Korean budget is met by the "foreign fund" income under the U.S. "aid". The South Korean "government" can neither compile the budget nor disburse fund without the prior approval of the U.S. overlord.

By taking control of the financial organs as well as the budget of South Korea through the "aid", the U.S. imperialists control not only the financial and economic activities of the South Korean "government" but also the funds of all economic organs and enterprises. The U.S. "aid" fund comprises as much as 30 per cent of the source of the loan fund of the banks including the "Bank of Korea" and all other financial organs of South Korea.

The U.S. imperialists have also chained the South Korean industry to the U.S. raw materials and other materials with their "aid".

South Korea is not only unable to solve the question of necessary materials and raw materials through the exploitation of home resources but has no means of its own to import the insufficient materials and raw materials from foreign countries through trade. South Korea depends on the U.S. "aid" for the greater part of the major materials such as steel, lumber and cement and almost all of such raw materials as bituminous coal, raw cotton, artificial silk yarn and caustic soda. And once this "aid" is brought to a halt, neither industry nor transport can be operated.

South Korean foreign trade is likewise monopolized by the United States. In South Korean foreign trade, its imports exceed its exports twentyfold, 80 per cent of the total import being from the United States. The South Korean markets are flooded with American goods from across the Ocean.

Thus, in South Korea budget, funds of enterprises, major materials and raw materials as a whole are in the

clutches of the United States, and foreign trade and home markets are also monopolized by the United States. It is the "U.S. Operation Mission" in South Korea administering the U.S. "aid" as the agency of the U.S. government that is playing the master in the economic life of South Korea.

It is self-evident that the South Korean economy manipulated by the U.S. aggressors cannot develop in a way corresponding to the interests of the South Korean people and the interests of our nation. The South Korean economy is entirely serving the policy of military aggression and colonial plunder of the U.S. imperialists.

South Korea has received over ten billion dollars of U.S. "aid" to date since the U.S. imperialists began to lord it over South Korea. The bulk of this "aid" was direct military "aid".

It is known throughout the world that the over 600,000 strong vast South Korean army is a mercenary army serving the aggressive purposes of U.S. imperialism, not the defence of the nation. U.S. military "aid" to South Korea is nothing but part of the expenses defrayed by the U.S. imperialists to maintain their military bases for invading the whole of Korea and Asia.

It is more beneficial for the U.S. imperialists to use the South Korean army, which is much less expensive than the U.S. army, in pursuing such aggressive aim. By impressing a huge number of South Korean youths and middle-aged into the puppet army and shifting the enormous expenses needed for its maintenance upon the shoulders of the South Korean people, they are outrageously "economizing" the outlay of their military expenses. In fact, only one twentyfifth of the amount needed for maintaining one U.S. division is sufficient for the U.S. imperialists to keep one puppet army division in South Korea. The U.S. imperialists' colonial rule ruined the South Korean economy and reduced millions of working people to the unemployed, and these form a source of cheap mercenaries for them.

While keeping a huge puppet army for their aggres-

sive purposes and shifting the heavy burden of military expenses on the shoulders of the South Korean people the U.S. imperialists are still palavering as if they are giving certain "aid".

South Korea is not only providing the U.S. aggressors with over 600,000 youths and middle-aged as cannon fodder but also disbursing one third of its annual total output value for military expenses. It is self-evident that under such circumstances economic construction is out of the question.

The so-called "pure economic aid" is also nothing but a means for fettering South Korea to the United States and mobilizing the South Korean resources and production for the military purposes of the United States. To begin with, the U.S. imperialists do not bring in machines, equipment and production installations necessary for the development of the national economy of South Korea. The "aid" goods they bring in are certain materials and raw materials for fettering the South Korean economy and such luxury goods as American cigarettes and toilet articles which are alien to the living of the popular masses of South Korea.

As a price for the "aid" the South Korean ruling circles have not only transferred altogether the sovereign power and the key branches of economy of the country to the U.S. imperialists but also presented to them far more riches than the total "aid" as a tribute. The United States had given 3.3 billion dollars of "economic aid" to South Korea up to the end of 1962, but the amount of the South Korean wealth they plundered in this period reached 8 billion dollars, even according to an extremely curtailed figure. This means that the U.S. imperialists shipped out of South Korea 2.4 times more than what they gave to South Korea.

Therefore, U.S. President Kennedy, in his recent "foreign aid message" to Congress, stated that the "contribution of this program to our national interests clearly outweighs its cost" and did not conceal the fact that it is a lucrative business.

By ushering U.S. monopoly capital into South Korea and selling off the sovereign power and natural resources of the country to the U.S. imperialists, a handful of the South Korean reactionary traitorous circles are lining their pockets. No small portion of the U.S. "aid" is directed to fostering this pro-American, traitorous force. In the industrial domain, 40 per cent of the total industrial output value is concentrated on the enterprises of the comprador capitalists comprising only one per cent of the total number of enterprises of South Korea.

Owing to the constant pressure exerted by the U.S. monopoly capital and comprador capital, the road of development of national industry in South Korea has been completely blocked and the colonial onesidedness and backwardness of industry left over by Japanese imperialism have further aggravated.

The share of industry in the total national income of South Korea is only one third and the machine-building industry, basis of economic independence, is almost nonexistent. The South Korean underground resources are lying unexploited, except a few mines that are being exploited for supplying strategic materials to the U.S. imperialists. Even the scanty textile and food industries known to exist in South Korea are mostly engaged in the production of war supplies. All this is in the hands of the comprador capitalists who are under the protection of the United States.

The South Korean industry is completely subordinated to the United States as a deformed industry having no raw material bases of its own and no key heavy industrial branches.

Due to the ever growing shortage of raw materials and funds, the medium and small enterprises are going bankrupt and declining with each passing day. Numbers of medium and small enterprises have been closed down and over 60 per cent of the remaining enterprises are operating under capacity or have stopped operating.

The output of South Korean industry, totally crippled by the aggressive U.S. "aid", falls short of even the level

at the time of the Japanese imperialists' rule.

The South Korean traitorous clique subservient to the foreign forces have not only destroyed altogether the South Korean industry but totally ruined agriculture as well.

The broad peasant masses are still subjected to harsh exploitation under the feudal system of land ownership. Far from making investment in agriculture, the South Korean rulers have bled the rural population white.

As a result of utter negligence of irrigation projects and forest and water conservancy work, land is being devastated with each passing day. Three million jungbo (one jungbo approximates one hectare) of forest area in South Korea, nearly half of the total, has been denuded and even the existing irrigation facilities have been completely destroyed.

Thus yearly a vast stretch of fertile land is being turned into waste land, and more than half of the farm land has turned into sterile land which can yield practically nothing unless it is restored and ameliorated.

The U.S. imperialists wrested from the South Korean peasants more than 100,000 jungbo of land for military use.

Under the condition in which industry is wrecked and the rural economy extremely fragmentized, the South Korean rural villages have no chance of making any technical progress and the agricultural technique is still in the mediaeval state.

The destruction and stagnation of the agricultural productive forces and the constant pressure of the U.S. surplus farm produce have brought about a sharp decline in production. By shipping in their surplus farm produce, the U.S. imperialists brought down the prices of the South Korean farm produce below the production cost, thereby ruining the peasants' economy and sapping the agricultural production to the extreme. Grain production has decreased to two-thirds compared with the pre-liberation days, cotton growing has almost died out and animal husbandry and sericulture are on a steady decline. Thus, South Korea, formerly a granary of our country, has

changed today into an area of chronic famine, which has to import annually 5-7 million suk (one suk equals 150 kg) of U.S. surplus food grain. Having led the South Korean agriculture to such a predicament, the U.S. imperialists have been shipping in as "aid" goods spoilt flour unmarketable anywhere else. This is indeed something like giving medicine while causing disease.

People's living in South Korea is in an indescribably miserable situation. Over 6 million working people, approximately half of the able-bodied population, are chronically unemployed or semi-unemployed.

The spiralling inflation caused by the expansion of military expenses is sharply curtailing the value of South Korean currency and leading the people's livelihood into the slough of poverty. In the 18 years since liberation the prices of commodities have risen no less than five thousandfold. The hardships of living have reached the climax following the assumption of power by the military fascist clique. While the prices of commodities are going up daily, the workers' wages have been frozen for the third year.

More frightful is the peasants' living in South Korea. The broad peasant masses have been reduced to debt slaves of the landlords and usurers. The peasantry is shouldering altogether 18 billion won of debts. Tens of thousands of peasant families are going bankrupt and are giving up farming every year. Roaming about hills and fields, they are barely living on grass roots and bark day by day.

Now a terrible famine is sweeping the length and breadth of South Korea. Provisions are 10 million suk short of the required amount and millions of people are on the verge of starvation. Numerous people are languishing in undernourishment and chronic diseases, being left without any relief measure. Tragedies are taking place one after another in which whole families commit suicide, unable to endure hunger and poverty any longer. Today South Korea has turned into a hell in the true sense of the word.

Precisely such are the consequences of the U.S. im-

perialists' "aid" to South Korea during the past eighteen years. Such are the consequences of the treacherous policy of the South Korean ruling circles of inviting outside forces and relying on them.

Although the South Korean military ruling elements have been trumpeting the "five-year plan for economic development", "physiocratic policy", etc., as if they could patch up the situation, their "new recipe" has also gone completely bankrupt. It needs wherewithal to restore the ruined South Korean industry and agriculture and solve the question of people's living, and in order to obtain such wherewithal the domestic capital must be mobilized. But the military ruling circles have neither the means nor the ability to solve this problem. Who would put their heart into the economic construction and provide the capital, trusting such hooligans as Pak Jung Hi who is engrossed in terrorism and fraud?

The military ruling elements are trying to get the funds through the insignificant "indemnity" coming from the "property claim against Japan" or through some foreign loan, but this is only an illusion.

In order to tide over the economic catastrophe of South Korea foreign forces must be rejected, a regime of the people must be set up by the people themselves, home resources must be explored and national economy rehabilitated and developed through the mobilization of the entire man power and financial means. The situation can never be improved as long as South Korea is under the domination of the U.S. imperialists and their running dogs and it continues to cling to U.S. "aid."

The situation of North Korea which took the course of self-dependent development of the national economy presents a striking contrast with that of South Korea which is shackled to the U.S. "aid".

Under the leadership of the Korean Workers' Party, the people in the North have striven, since the first day of liberation, to wipe out the century-old backwardness and colonial dependent character of the national economy and to lay the foundation of a self-supporting national eco-

nomy.

It was a very difficult job under the condition in which we took over a backward economy and culture from the old society, had few national cadres and had no experiences in economic construction. But we undeviatingly followed the course we chose in order not to repeat the bitter past when we were trampled underfoot, humiliated and maltreated by foreign invaders because of our backwardness and powerlessness but to become an independent, powerful and civilised nation advancing proudly shoulder to shoulder with all other nations of the world.

To become self-dependent economically means to develop the national economy relying upon one's own technique, one's own resources and the forces of one's own cadres and people and to become able to satisfy the home demand basically with home production.

As Comrade Kim Il Sung pointed out, in order to manage the economy of the country with our own strength, we must **"develop economy in a diversified way, equip it with up-to-date technique and create our own firm raw material bases, thus forming a comprehensive economic system in which all branches are interlinked organically with each other."**

Heavy industry is the foundation of economic independence of the country and the cornerstone for the development of the national economy. Without heavy industry, light industry and agriculture cannot be developed nor can the independence of the state be ensured.

Even if there was a skeleton heavy industry in our country in the past, it was a backward, colonial industry built by the Japanese imperialists to plunder the resources of Korea and exploit the Korean people and it was totally destroyed during the war at that.

We have laid solid heavy industrial bases of our own by concentrating tremendous efforts on the rehabilitation and development of heavy industry.

Today in the northern part of our country, all key heavy industrial branches such as power industry, coal industry, ferrous and non-ferrous metal industries, chemical

industry, building-materials industry and machine-building industry have been secured. Our heavy industry is equipped with new technique and is developing relying on home resources and serving the development of the national economy and the betterment of our people's livelihood. This means that our heavy industry is a self-supporting, modern heavy industry and a powerful heavy industry with a broad prospect of development.

In 1962 North Korea turned out 11,400 million kwh of electricity, 13.2 million tons of coal, more than 1.2 million tons of pig iron and luppe, 1.05 million tons of steel, 2.38 million tons of cement and roughly 780,000 tons of chemical fertilizers.

Especially, thanks to the creation and development of machine-building industry which did not exist in the past, different types of modern machines and equipment are being produced in large quantities—machine tools, electric machines, mining machines, installations of metal and chemical industries, transport and construction machines, weaving machines, farm machines and so forth. In 1962 machine-building industry comprised 23 per cent of the total industrial output value and the rate of self-supply of machines and equipment reached 92 per cent.

Thus we are supplying fuel, power, raw materials and other materials, machines and installations needed for the development of the national economy basically with home production and are carrying out an overall technical revolution on the basis of our own heavy industry.

Under the powerful support of heavy industry, light industry and agriculture have likewise made swift development.

In order to boost the lagging production of mass consumption goods as soon as possible and meet the growing demand of the people, we have built large-scale light industrial factories equipped with modern technique and, at the same time, set up medium- and small-scale local industrial factories in all parts of the country by actively mobilising local sources of raw materials and local reserves and enlisting the strength of the masses.

Today we have a developed textile industry and various food processing and daily necessities industries. We have laid a firm foundation for fully ensuring raw materials for light industry and further developing technique on our own.

North Korea which depended on import for almost all the consumer goods in the past is now meeting the demand of the people with home-made goods. Though there are few luxury goods in our stores, they are filled with daily necessities of our own make.

Originally the arable land in North Korea was small and very lean at that. Therefore, North Korea had been known from olden days as an area incapable of meeting its own requirements for provisions.

However, we have speedily developed the production of grain and all other domains of the rural economy by transforming nature through the extensive carrying out of irrigation projects and afforestation and water conservancy work and by steadily introducing modern farm machines and new farming technique.

Today we have not only become self-sufficient in food but laid a foundation for putting out large quantities of industrial crops, vegetables, all kinds of fruits and cocoons and also for developing animal husbandry.

Along with the national economy, education is developing and national culture and arts are blossoming. In North Korea the compulsory middle school education system was enforced already in 1958 and 9-year compulsory technical education will be introduced before long. The work of training national cadres has been conducted on an extensive scale, with the result that a large army of technicians and specialists has been trained and all factories and enterprises of North Korea are efficiently managed and operated by our national technical personnel.

In the northern part of our country, there are no unemployed and all the labouring masses are working and studying and are enjoying free medical treatment without exception. Everyone is ensured food, clothes and a dwell-

ing house and all people are freed from any worry about their living.

Of course, much remains to be done for turning our country into a developed, modern industrial state and enabling our people to lead a more bountiful, better life.

But we have already built up an industrial-agricultural state with a self-supporting economic foundation and solved the basic problems of our people's living. We have completely freed ourselves from the century-old backwardness and poverty. Today the economy of our country is developing, relying on our own technique, raw materials, on the forces of our own cadres and working people, and our people are living without any worry with industrial goods and farm produce turned out at home. This is a great change in the history of the Korean nation.

We have prepared a firm wherewithal, and a broad vista is open before us. Today the working people in the northern half of our country are striving to carry out the grand task of the Seven-Year Plan set forth by the Workers' Party.

When the Seven-Year Plan is fulfilled, our industry will have developed all the more and it will produce larger quantities of up-to-date machines and equipment and various kinds of means of production as well as varied consumer goods of superior quality. In the field of rural economy, technical transformation will have been realised and the output of grain and all other crops and that of animal products will decisively increase. By that time, our country will have become a developed industrial state and all our people will be able to live as well as others.

Our people could lay the solid self-supporting foundation of the national economy in the northern part of our country only by firmly taking their destiny in their hands and unflinchingly cutting their way through manifold difficulties and trials under the wise guidance of the Party.

We rejected the truckler tendency of relying upon others only, not trusting our own force, and strove to build a self-supporting national economy mainly with our own strength and resources adhering to the principle of self-

reliance. Immediately after the armistice when we had no iron, no machine and no cement and when we were short of food and clothes, we laid the foundation stones of a self-supporting national economy one by one, living an austere life and sparing pennies. Our working people rose up as one and waged a heroic struggle for freeing themselves from the age-old backwardness and poverty at the earliest date and for the prosperity and development of the country and the flourish of the rising generations, thereby laying a firm foundation of the national economy and radically improving their living in a short span of time

Following the war, we received a total of 500 million rubles (550 million dollars) of economic and technical aid from the fraternal socialist countries, and this aid, of course, helped promote our economic construction. However, at that time, too, our own force played the decisive role in rehabilitating and developing our national economy. Even under the difficult circumstances in those days, we endeavoured to use effectively the aid of the brother countries, while putting main stress on the maximum mobilisation of the forces of our people and all the home resources, not relying upon the aid only. We directed the aid to the laying of the foundation of a self-supporting economy of the country.

In the first place, the aid of the socialist countries is radically different from the "aid" of the imperialist countries, whose object is aggression, subjugation and plunder. Among the socialist countries there can be no such thing as using the aid as a means of interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Socialist countries give genuine, internationalist aid to other countries, aid which consolidates the national independence of the recipient nations and helps build their self-supporting national economy.

Today our country has already become able to stand on her own feet economically and live with her own strength. As for the economic relations of our country with the fraternal socialist countries, they are developing through foreign trade based on the principle of interna-

tionalism and the principle of complete equality and mutual benefit. Through such trade, our brother countries and we are accommodating one another and helping one another's economic development by exporting what we have more than enough of and importing what we lack and need.

The self-supporting national economy we have built constitutes a reliable basis of our political independence. Our country, as a fully independent state allowing no interference of foreign countries, is solving all questions by itself. We have established jooche (national identity) in ideology, are economically independent, execute self-dependent home and foreign policies and have a self-defence power capable of safeguarding our independence and sovereignty from the encroachment of any outside enemy.

The success and experiences gained in the northern part of our country prove that our nation can build a self-supporting national economy through self-reliance and that only by taking this road can genuine national independence be achieved and the rapid development of economy and culture be made.

The self-supporting national economy established in the northern part is not only the source of the happy life of the people in the northern part but also the wealth of the whole nation, and it constitutes a solid foundation for the independent development of the national economy of the whole of Korea.

We should draw a due conclusion from the two opposing lines taken by North and South Korea and from their results.

Now South Korea has been driven into a blind alley where it must find a new outlet.

Which road should South Korea take? Should it come back to life by following the road of building a self-supporting economy, joining hands with the brothers in North Korea, or sink into the mire of ruin for ever by clinging to outside forces? It must choose one of these two roads.

South Korea must resolutely abandon the course of ruining the country, extricate itself from imperialist yoke,

embark upon the road of independent development and seek the strength of resurgence within the nation.

Our nation has sufficient might to expel the aggressors, manage economy by firmly standing on its own feet and build a civilised, rich and powerful independent state. Our nation, though it once traversed a tortuous path due to the aggression of Japanese imperialism, is a courageous nation with a high sense of unity, who has long defended the independence of the country, and is an industrious and sagacious nation that has created the wealth of the country and built a brilliant culture with its own force.

Beautiful is our land and bountiful are its resources. There is a developed industry in the North and vast fertile farm land in the South. Water-power resources and varied underground resources are to be found in various parts of the country. Our country surrounded by seas on three sides, its marine resources are also inexhaustible.

Why should our nation, which has bountiful resources throughout the country and the economic might for national resurgence in one half of the country, a sagacious and brave nation which has a long history and has inherited a time-honoured cultural tradition, undergo maltreatment and humiliation and live in rags and in hunger by clinging to the Yankee imperialists? Is it still early for our nation to wake up from the dream after it led a life of colonial slavery under Japanese imperialism for nearly half a century and has been again subjected to all sorts of national contempt and humiliation for eighteen years in South Korea under the colonial yoke of U.S. imperialism?

Some people in South Korea, while calling for the independent development of the national economy on the one hand, have as yet not discarded the illusion about the imperialist "aid" and are continuing to beg for U.S. imperialists' "aid" on the other. This is just like a person asking a robber to look after his house.

Isn't it the consequences of the U.S. "aid" that the South Korean people have been made servent to others in

their own country and are languishing in disease and hunger without food and clothes?

Some people in South Korea are trying to seek the way out in the "aid" of the Japanese militarists. However, inviting the aggressive Japanese monopoly capital will never improve the situation in the least but, on the contrary, will place South Korea under the two-fold enslavement of U.S. and Japanese imperialism, thereby driving the South Korean economy and the people's living into the slough of inextricable bankruptcy.

Any and every illusion about imperialism must be discarded. There is no other way but to resolutely abandon the road of relying upon outside forces and promote economic independence by pooling the strength of the whole nation.

Mutual accommodation should be effected between the North and the South through the realisation of economic intercourse, all the resources of North and South Korea be jointly made use of and a national economy capable of standing firmly on its own feet, not relying upon any outside force, be built by enlisting the wisdom, talent and might of the whole nation.

As viewed from the economic and geographic standpoint, too, it is rational to link the industrial area of North Korea with the agrarian area of South Korea, and only by so doing can the unified and harmonious development of the national economy be made. Why should we cling to the imperialists' "aid", not using the powerful economic might and sufficient funds our nation is in possession of?

There is no ground whatever for one and the same nation to be unable even to conduct intercourse with each other when countries even with differing social systems are cooperating with and accommodating each other economically. Differences of political views and social systems cannot constitute a barrier to cooperation and intercourse between the North and the South.

We cannot look on with folded arms at our beautiful, fertile land being devastated day after day under the

heels of foreign aggressors and our brothers and sisters groaning in the quagmire. If the conditions for the reunification of the country are as yet premature, we should realise economic intercourse at least, putting political issue aside, and cope with the economic bankruptcy in South Korea, solve the question of people's living and lay the foundation of economic independence step by step.

We maintain this, proceeding from the sole desire to save the parents, brothers, and sisters in South Korea who find themselves at the crossroads of life and death and to rescue the nation from the tragedy of ruin.

Economic cooperation and intercourse between North and South Korea are advantageous for both the North and South and the whole nation is to gain from this and has nothing to lose.

We must restore the link between the industry of North Korea and agriculture of South Korea through economic intercourse. The devastated South Korean agriculture and industry will be speedily rehabilitated and developed, if we exchange electric power, coal, iron, timber, cement, various kinds of machines and equipment and other heavy industrial goods of North Korea for the agricultural produce of South Korea.

It stands out as a burning issue in South Korea to boost agriculture, major economy there, and stabilise the livelihood of the peasants comprising more than 70 per cent of its population. Interchange and cooperation between the North and South will give fresh vigour to the extremely devastated South Korean countryside and raise agricultural production, thereby enabling South Korea not only to manage itself without importing U.S. surplus food grain but to secure food enough and to spare.

We can also meet the demand of the South Korean people for industrial goods and provide millions of unemployed with work places by overcoming through mutual cooperation the shortage of raw materials and other materials and machines, fuel and power, the most acute problem of South Korean industry, and by rehabilitating and building national industry in South Korea.

We should not stop at rehabilitating the ruined national industry of South Korea but proceed step by step to realise industrialisation in South Korea. Independent development of economy is unthinkable apart from industrialisation. South Korea abounds in water-power resources, coal, iron ore, tungsten and other underground resources. We must not allow such precious wealth to be plundered by the imperialists nor let it lie idle any longer.

Key heavy industrial branches such as fuel-power, metal, chemical, building-material and machine-building industries can be set up in South Korea, too, if the North and South join their forces, jointly explore resources in South Korea and jointly use the industrial power we have already built in North Korea.

The construction of heavy industry is urgently required not only for the development of the South Korean economy but also for the strengthening of the self-supporting foundation of the economy of the whole nation after the reunification of the country is realised in the future.

We must proceed to organically linking the North and South Korean industries and organising a rational division of labour between them, while gradually realising industrialisation in South Korea through the mobilisation of all forces at home.

If we cooperate with and supplement each other in this way, we can bring the ruined South Korean national industry back to life, build a number of heavy and light industrial branches which form the foundation of the independence of the country, and can radically improve the living of the South Korean people and deliver South Korea from the economic bondage to U.S. imperialism once and for all.

Intercourse and cooperation between the North and South will not only help cope with the economic disaster in South Korea, solve the urgent problem of people's living and, furthermore, accomplish economic independence but also create very favourable conditions for the reunifi-

cation of the country by removing the distrust bred by the enemy between us and bringing us closer together.

Our proposal that the North and South pool strength and build a self-supporting national economy is a just, patriotic proposal which no one can refute.

Nevertheless, the military rulers in South Korea are dead set against any contact and intercourse between the North and South, to say nothing of the reunification of the country, clamouring about "storing up strength for conquering communism".

"To conquer communism" is no more than a day-dream never to be realized and it is also clear that no force can be stored up by relying upon outside force. The "five-year plan for economic development" of Pak Jung Hi based on the U.S. imperialists' "aid" ended in an empty talk, and the South Korean people are undergoing unheard-of calamities owing to his treacherous policy of storing up strength for "conquering communism".

Was it not the very communists who have done the great patriotic work of upholding the independence of the country, laying the foundation of the national economy by developing the natural resources in the country and exploring the latent wealth of the country, enabling the people to lead a bountiful life and paving the highroad of national resurrection and prosperity? And is it not those clamouring about "anti-communism" who are committing such treacherous acts as selling the country to the Yankees, destroying the national economy, throwing people into the greatest misery and driving the nation into a land of darkness?

Today the question lies in unifying the divided country and relieving the South Korean people from misery.

Today when one half of the country is swept by hunger and is drenched with blood owing to the aggression of U.S. imperialism, the whole nation must unite and make all efforts to expel the aggressors, accomplish the independence of the country and achieve economic independence. One should not be taken in by the "anti-com-

munist" policy of U.S. imperialism and by its scheme to sow national discord; the North and the South must join forces, unify the country and promote the independent development of the national economy.

If the whole nation unites efforts and talents, jointly explores all the wealth of the country and develops national economy and national culture in a unified way, we can certainly build a civilised, rich and powerful, independent, modern industrial state.

Entire patriotic compatriots in South Korea, let us unite and fight against the aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism and the treacherous policy of its stooges and for the realisation of cooperation and intercourse between the North and the South!

APPEAL TO THE SOUTH KOREAN PEOPLE

Fellow countrymen, brothers and sisters in South Korea!

Youth and students, heroes of April!

Men who love the country and nation!

Marking today with deep feelings the third anniversary of the heroic April 19 Popular Uprising of the South Korean people, we appeal to you, dear countrymen, out of our warm compatriotic love.

Three years ago today, you gave vent to the pent-up resentment and anger and, following the dictates of justice and conscience, went out onto the scene of resistance struggle to regain the freedom and democracy that had been trampled underfoot.

Crying loudly for a new government and a new life, you closed in upon the enemy's stronghold barehanded, in defiance of tanks and tear gas and breaking through the barricades of bayonets.

At last you overthrew the puppet Syngman Rhee regime at the cost of the patriotic blood shed for freedom and democracy and dealt a telling blow at the U.S. imperialist aggressors, thereby adding lustre to the brilliant history of struggle of the nation for freedom and liberation.

Three years have passed since the bloody day of the heroic April Popular Uprising.

Where are the freedom, democracy and the right to existence for which the heroes of April unsparingly sacrificed their youth and lives, and why are you groaning under the outrageous military fascist tyranny?

In South Korea today, many of the patriots who have fought for the country and the people devoting

themselves body and soul are dying on the scaffold and on the rack; innocent people are being arrested and imprisoned daily, and their number has reached hundreds of thousands.

They shouted at the top of their voice the slogan: "Let's go to the North! Come to the South!" holding aloft the banner of the peaceful reunification of the country by the Koreans themselves. Their loud cries shook the earth. But today their voices are smothered completely, and the heroes of April locked up behind the bars.

Your hands and feet are continuously fettered and you are always watched by the bloody, sharp eyes of the special agents and spies.

Freedom and democracy are wiped out leaving no trace, and sorrowful cries of the hungered and poverty-stricken popular masses resound in the whole land of South Korea, rending one's heart.

Mountains are bared, factory chimneys are in deep slumber and fields lie waste.

What you hear are the bemoaning over the present living of the millions of unemployed who roam aimlessly about the streets in search of job and the seven millions of foodless peasants who wander about the desolate mountains and fields looking for grass and tree bark; the pitiful cry for relief of the hundreds of thousands of waifs and strays who, carrying empty U.S.-made cans with them, wander about begging for food; and the helpless cries of abandoned babies. What meet your ears are the heart-rending, resentful words of the fathers who, finding no way of feeding their dear little ones crying for food, are forced to poison them and then kill themselves and the bitter curses of the women whose needy circumstances compelled them to enter gay quarters to sell their own bodies.

What you hear are the bitter, angry voices of our brothers and sisters in Pajoo and Pyungtaik, in Seoul and Inchun, and in Taegu and Waigwan, who are shot by the American robbers, bitten by U.S. military dogs and violated by the American brutes. Their hatred and indignation

will not be pacified for generations to come.

Your hearts are lacerated to hear the mournful cries of your fellow countrymen who are driven like animals in the alien land thousands of miles away where they have been shipped under the name of "emigration!"

The popular masses have been thrown into the dire straits of famine, poverty and utter lack of rights. They are wallowing in the slough of despond not knowing what to do.

Are there freedom, democracy and right to existence, do the people enjoy a genuine life, and do they have a beautiful future in South Korea, "a land of darkness," "a land of death," where all is trodden underfoot and suppressed?

Have there ever been in our nation's long history such rampancy of lawlessness and tyranny as in South Korea today, such an instance of the land being converted into a living hell of darkness and death as that in South Korea today?

Is this the fruit of the resistance struggle many students and people waged risking their lives, and is it for this that you, holding in your arms the dead bodies of your dear comrades-in-arms, shouted for joy over the victory won at the cost of blood on the Square of April on that impressive day?

Who on earth have robbed you of the price of your blood shed in April? Who have defiled and trampled down the spirit of April? Who have turned South Korea into a living hell of today?

They are the U.S. imperialists who have maintained the governor's rule of a colony in South Korea, and the Pak Jung Hi clique who, at the instigation of the U.S. imperialists, staged a "military coup" to bear a bloody rule of military fascism.

At a time when you were waging, shouting aloud "reunification is the only road to life," a patriotic struggle for materializing the spirit of April, for tearing down the barriers between North and South and realizing the

country's reunification, the U.S. imperialists and the Pak Jung Hi clique staged a "military coup" to curb your struggle and save the U.S. imperialists' colonial rule from collapse.

Could there be anyone more shameless and impudent, could there be any greater defilement and mockery of the spirit of April 19 than the raving about "inheriting the April 19 spirit" on the part of those who scheme to maintain the fascist tyranny and keep the country indefinitely divided, trampling down the ardent aspirations of the people for freedom, democracy, and the country's peaceful reunification, the spirit of April 19?

The military fascist clique, who talk about their having taken over the April 19 spirit, have deprived the popular masses of their democratic rights and freedoms, squandered the national funds amassed by bleeding the people white for construction of an amusement centre for the Yankees, committed the scandals of embezzling and pocketing property worth thousands of millions of won and paved the way even for the Japanese militarists to make inroads into the barren land of South Korea.

The Square of April is under the blood-stained iron heel and the vicious plot to preserve the bloody tyranny of military fascism has become all the more naked.

Dark clouds of fratricidal conflict hang heavily over the South Korean people, and there is no end of frantic military clamour in South Korea.

It is quite natural that under these circumstances the whole of South Korea has raised the voice of protest against the terrorist rule of military fascism and the popular masses are offering ever stronger resistance against the U.S. imperialists.

Dismayed and upset by the developments, the U.S. imperialists and the Pak Jung Hi clique are working on a new, sinister intrigue and are resorting to all manner of dirty manoeuvring to fool and mock you and retain the military fascist regime as it is.

The enemy are fearful of your heroic uprising, and

talk day in and day out about "military government," "civilian government" or "transitional government" to appease and soften up your spirit of resistance.

Under the manipulation of U.S. imperialism the political swindlers who are guided by self-interest are bent on dirty scrambling for power; political and economic crises have reached the zenith; and the people's living is going from bad to worse.

It is clear to everybody that the situation will grow still worse as long as the colonial rule of U.S. imperialism persists and the puppet regime of its placemen lasts.

Who on earth can only keep silence in face of these grim realities, fail to rise up under the banner of resistance against oppression?

Compatriots, brothers and sisters in South Korea!

Young people and valorous students!

Patriotic fighters of the April Uprising!

All who love the country and people!

Let us review what historical lessons you can draw from your experiences of the past eighteen years and from developments after the April 19.

Our people who are undergoing severe ordeals are calling you to the Square of April so as to uproot the very causes of misfortunes and pains.

Come forward to the Square of April again, to the Street of Resistance to take back everything downtrodden and stolen, hoisting high your Flag of April—the flag soaked in blood!

Wage a nation-wide anti-American, national salvation struggle to drive out the U.S. imperialist aggressors from our land and crush their colonial rule.

One can no more breed lambs in a wolf's den than one can speak of democratic freedom and right to existence in South Korea without casting away the colonial rule of U.S. imperialism.

Not a grain, nor a drop of water to the Yankee invaders! Let none of them sustain himself in this land of ours!

The U.S. imperialist aggressors are keeping their

colonial rule with the service of the military fascist clique.

Sweep off the Pak Jung Hi military fascist clique in the spirit with which you overthrew the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique on that day in April!

Wage a struggle to smash every oppressive, military, fascist apparatus, "Supreme Council," "Central Intelligence Agency," "Cabinet" included, repeal all evil fascist laws and set free outright all patriots and innocent people in custody and in prison!

Frustrate all trickeries of U.S. imperialism and the Pak Jung Hi clique to prolong the "military government" indefinitely, and win freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association and demonstration and right to strike!

As long as South Korea remains under U.S. occupation, little difference would there be in essence, be it a "military government," or a "civilian government."

Wage a more resolute struggle to drive out the U.S. imperialist aggressors, crush the military fascist rule so as to set up an independent and democratic government composed of representatives of the people of all strata—workers, farmers, youth and students, armymen, intellectuals, men of religion, traders and enterprisers!

Bring out a revolutionary political party that will defend the interests of the absolute majority of the labouring people including workers and farmers, and put up new leaders who will lead the party and fight to the end for the national interests of the popular masses!

For the restoration of the ruined economy of South Korea and for the solution of the hard-pressed people's living economic and cultural co-operation and exchange must be realized between the North and South.

If the North-South intercourse and co-operation is realized, and if the 30 millions unite and help each other, a self-reliant economy can be built in South Korea, too, and South Korea can eventually free itself from U.S. economic subjugation.

In North Korea a firm foundation of a powerful independent national economy has been built, and the people in the North ardently wish to share the fruits of their

labour with the people of South Korea. Such is the firm substratum that we have in the country. Then why should you still beg for what is known as U.S. "aid" that has brought abject poverty to the entire people in South Korea? Why should you continue to tread the path which will lead you to still direr poverty?

Only the pro-American running dogs that dance to the tune of the U.S. imperialists, who are trying to perpetuate Korea's division, are against the North-South co-operation and intercourse under the absurd pretext of "communist threat."

If the aggressive U.S. "aid" is, as it is said, not a threat, one can ask: What has caused South Korea to be subordinated to the U.S. imperialists as completely as today? What has caused the ruin of South Korean economy? What has driven the people's life into such dire straits?

Struggle more resolutely against these traitors who are dead set against the compatriots accommodating each other and co-operating together, while flattering the alien aggressors, being submissive to them, and working to sell the country!

Without economic independence, there can be no political independence. Likewise, relying on outside force will lead the country to its ruin.

Uphold higher the banner of self-reliance, independence, self-sustenance and self-determination, and march forward more resolutely to win national liberation!

Keep fighting those flunkeyists who are ready to put the fate of the country into the hands of the outside forces!

We are the people who have a long history and brilliant cultural traditions. We are the people who have inherited the patriotic spirit handed down to us by our wise forefathers who fought all alien aggressors. Then, how can we put the destiny of the nation at the disposal of the Yankees? We are possessed of capabilities enough to shape our own destinies.

All for the peaceful reunification of the country by our own people rejecting interference from without! To

achieve reunification, South Korea, too, like North Korea, must stand on its own feet politically and economically.

We are yet to see in history a case of a nation winning national independence by relying on foreign powers.

You are standing on the consecrated Square of Blood where the souls of the fighters who fell in April are resting.

At this grave moment hesitation and indifference have no place. Submission is death, likewise hesitation is defeat. Only struggle will lead to life and victory.

Victory is on your side who are fighting in unity. Invincible is the united strength of the people. When people unite and rise up in the struggle against the oppressors, the fortress of the enemy is nothing but a house built on the sand in a storm. You know this by experience!

Everyone, pluck up the unbending spirit of our proud nation and rekindle the spirit of April. More resolutely and more vigorously wage the nation-wide anti-American, national salvation struggle for national liberation and the country's reunification without foreign interference.

**Mass Rally in Pyongyang on the Occasion
of the Third Anniversary of the April Uprising
of the South Korean People**

April 18, 1963